

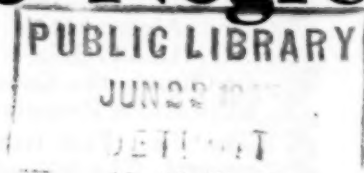
June 23, 1945

AMERICA

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by Julius A. Thomas



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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Josephus Daniels on Conscription. One of the most telling briefs against Peacetime Conscription was read into the current House Committee hearings on Conscription by Josephus Daniels, Secretary of Navy in the first World War. Asserting that the Nation must be strong and always prepared, Mr. Daniels maintained that the forced training of youth in peacetime was neither wise nor necessary. He characterized the propaganda for conscription as based on three false premises: Fear, cynicism ("there have always been wars and there always will be wars") and imperialism. "It has not been suggested," he added,

that there is need for drafting men for the Navy. It can obtain all it may need by volunteers who are ambitious to go down to the sea in ships. Aviation will attract more men of their own volition than there are planes in which they can try their wings. There remains, therefore, as the only possible argument for compulsory training, the drafting of men to make up the land forces. At most there will be need only for a small compact land force. Every man that can be wisely placed can be obtained by volunteer enlistment if there is adequate pay with certain advancement from the ranks for those who show ability in actual service.

The nation's defense system would be inadequate, indeed, and the wrong kind, he concluded, if it leaned upon "the discredited broken stick of universal compulsory conscription."

Florida Labor Law Voided. With Justices Frankfurter and Roberts dissenting on both counts and Chief Justice Stone on the second, the Supreme Court, on June 11, invalidated sections of a Florida law requiring the licensing of union business agents and imposing on unions the obligation of filing with the State the names of their organizations and the names and addresses of their officers. The majority opinion, written by Justice Black, found that the Florida statute ran afoul of the National Labor Relations Act by limiting the freedom of workers as defined by Congress. The purpose of the Wagner Act, Justice Black argued, is to encourage collective bargaining by protecting the liberty of workers to choose their representatives without interference by the employer, and in drawing up the Act the Congress "attached no conditions whatsoever to their freedom of choice in this respect." The voided legislation would substitute the judgment of the State for the judgment of the workers in designating their representatives. This interpretation Justices Frankfurter and Roberts rejected, asserting that the Florida law "does not truly hinder or obstruct Federal regulation." And they added:

Congress, by protecting employees in their right to choose representatives for collective bargaining free from the coercion or influence of employers, did not impliedly wipe out the right of States under their police powers to require qualifications appropriate for union officials having fiduciary duties.

Although the point is well taken, it ignores the danger that such a requirement might easily be used to control unions by controlling their officers, or even to destroy them. For this reason organized labor opposed the Florida law and is fighting similar laws in other States. The decision is new, but the problem is old, namely, where to draw the line between freedom and regulation for the common good. Until we have had more experience with laws restricting unions, it is prudent to give freedom the benefit of doubt.

FEPC In the Balance. We were reminded of the critical situation of either form of Fair Employment Practices legislation—executive or Congressional—by the action of Senator David I. Walsh, of Massachusetts, who placed in the *Congressional Record* for May 15, 1945, the article entitled: "F.E.P.C.: A Challenge to Democracy," by Father Richard J. Roche, O.M.I., which appeared in *AMERICA* for April 14. But other events now remind us that the situation is still more critical. Omission by the House Appropriations Committee of the \$599,000, recommended by President Truman and approved by the Budget Bureau, put snuffers on further continuation of the presidential FEPC Committee, created by the executive order of President Roosevelt. Not the size of the appropriation, but the principle of the agency itself was the matter of the Appropriation Committee's discussion. The only hope that the agency's life may still be extended appears to rest on the possibility the Senate may restore it to the National War Agencies Bill by amendment, or that the House Appropriations Committee may insert the FEPC item in the Deficiency Appropriation Bill, to be reported later in June. On the other hand, President Truman's earnest request that the bill for a permanent, congressional FEPC, H.R. 2232, should be brought upon the floor of the House for debate was blocked by a 6-6 vote in the House Rules Committee, after three months of angry, intermittent discussion. Rescue there depends upon enough House signatures to obtain its discharge from Committee. Whether such discharge can be secured is problematical. But there is nothing problematical about the injustice of refusing debate on so vital and practical an issue. It is not a question, as is wrongly stated, of "imposing racial equality by law," but of providing a normal legal deterrent against a recognized evil and dangerous practice.

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Poland Still the Question. Messrs. Joseph E. Davies and Harry Hopkins have earned, and rightly earned, a nation's applause for their fulfillment of a delicate and difficult task. The arduousness of their mission to Moscow at a supremely critical moment was increased by the personal circumstance that each of these men was in poor health at the time. It was the farthest possible from a pleasure trip or junket. For them, and for all of us who have felt encouraged by President Truman's hopeful report of progress with Russia, it is anything but cheering to learn, but a few days after, that the sixteen Polish leaders who were arrested without warning by the Soviet Government are now being held for trial as "diversionists." The news is released from Moscow apparently as a slap directly in the face of the democratic leaders—such as Messrs. Mikolajczyk, Stanczyk and aged former Premier Wincenty Witos—who were invited to take part in the work of placing the Warsaw Provisional Government on some semblance of a broader and less wholly puppet-unilateral basis. After a ray of dim sunshine, the storm clouds have gathered again. And again the world wonders at what seems like either incredible cynicism or still more incredible political stupidity on the part of the Moscow Government.

School-Community Cooperation. If better understanding is to be created among the racial and cultural groups of our cities, the logical method appears to be to work right in the local community itself, and let the community cooperate with the schools according to some well devised program. The so-called "Springfield (Mass.) Plan" for school-community cooperation operates on a city-wide basis. But the experimental project recently adopted by the New York City public-school system aims to work locally, by a system of representative community councils, of fifteen members each, who will be appointed by the principals and assistant superintendents in the schools. To these councils will be appointed the leaders of the neighborhood: school representatives, churchmen, merchants, labor officials, business organizations and other community spokesmen. With the cordial commendation of Dr. John E. Wade, Superintendent of Schools for New York City, the program is to go into effect immediately in three schools: P.S. 52 in the Bronx, P.S. 25 in Brooklyn and P.S. 116 in South Jamaica. Eight months of careful research by a sub-committee of the Board of Education preceded the formulation and release of the "New York Plan," as the project is being termed. Chairman of the sub-committee is George K. Hunton, Secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York and Managing Editor of the *Interracial Review*, which published an argument for such a "community program" in its issue for April, 1944. Judging by the many inquiries which have already been received since the adoption of the plan was announced on June 7, it looks as if the "New York Plan" will be widely taken up throughout the country. It is a direct and practical way of handling one of the most difficult situations of our time.

Employers' PAC. That is not the real name, but that is what it is. The real name is the National Affairs Committee (NAC) and it is the answer of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce to the CIO's Political Action Committee. Sidney Hillman's counterpart is a competent New Yorker, Howard L. Volgenau, and so far he has been getting along with a minimum of publicity. His travels, however, have taken him far and wide, and so far he is said to have convinced 1,400 local Chambers "to introduce [sic] the element of business statesmanship into Government by setting up their own NAC's." Victor Riesel, the New York *Post's* crack

labor columnist, reports that already NAC is one of the "nation's quietest, most influential and unique lobbies." Although Mr. Volgenau disclaims any intention of electing candidates to office, NAC has already taken several leaves out of PAC's effective book. Businessmen are being introduced to slick, simple little pamphlets reminiscent of the brochures which PAC scattered to the four winds last November. They are being encouraged to throw their political weight around and told how to do it. "One thousand individual letters," says a streamlined booklet called *Help Yourself to Better Government*, "written from information provided by the NAC, can head in, smoke out, or buck up any man who votes on Capitol Hill." This is certainly realistic enough. Will it be, one wonders with Mr. Riesel, NAC against PAC in 1948?

Ward Seizure Upheld. Sewell Avery, Board Chairman of the Montgomery Ward Company, has lost the second round in his fight against the Government's wartime no-strike policy—a decision not entirely unexpected by our readers (Cf. AMERICA, February 10, 1945). On June 8, by a two-to-one decision, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago upheld the late President Roosevelt's seizure of the Ward properties, thus overruling Judge Philip L. Sullivan's earlier decision. The case was remanded to the lower court and Judge Sullivan was ordered to grant the Government's plea for a declaratory judgment holding that the military seizure was and is legal. One phase of the case, said the Circuit Court, referring to Presidential powers under the Smith-Connally Act, could be reduced to the narrow issue, "does the word 'production' comprehend 'distribution'?" It found that "we are dealing with a war act," an act "passed on the assumption that this was and is an all-out war," and that under the circumstances Judge Sullivan could not be justified in his narrow interpretation of such a broad and elastic term as "production." Whether there will be a third and final round in this *cause célèbre* depends solely on Sewell Avery, who, if he wishes, can carry his fight to the Supreme Court. In that event, he will delay still longer the execution of the original order of the War Labor Board which precipitated the whole controversy. It is, indeed, regrettable that the union in this case—the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees (CIO)—which has acted throughout with dignity and restraint, has had to wait so long for elemental justice.

NLRB Goes Broke. Last week the National Labor Relations Board was forced to curtail its activities because of a shortage of funds, the cause of this deplorable situation being, ironically, the large number of strike votes which it has been forced to conduct under the Smith-Connally Act. This Act, as we have taken occasion to point out before, is a stupid piece of legislation, but if Congress wants to keep it on the books, it has a duty to provide funds for its administration. Perhaps Senator Connally and Representative Howard Smith will now lead a drive for more money for NLRB.

Editor-in-Chief: JOHN LAFARGE
Managing Editor: CHARLES KEENAN
Literary Editor: HAROLD C. GARDINER
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ALLAN P. FARRELL, LOUIS E. SULLIVAN
Contributing Editors: WILFRID PARSONS, ROBERT A. GRAHAM
Editorial Office: 329 W. 108TH STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

President, America Press: GERALD C. TREACY
Business Manager and Treasurer: JOSEPH CARROLL
Promotion and Circulation: GERRARD DONNELLY
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THE NATION AT WAR

BURMA IS A STATE of sixteen million people in southeast Asia. It is 800 miles long from Rangoon on the coast to the north boundary, and the main part of the state is 400 miles wide on an average.

Japan conquered Burma early in 1942. It thereafter attempted to invade India, without succeeding. In the autumn of 1944, British forces commenced a campaign to recapture Burma. At this date the major portion of that state is again under British control.

The campaign which accomplished this objective has been a marvel of organization. Burma is split from north to south by parallel mountain ranges and rivers. The mountains are high, the rivers wide and deep. The British advancing overland from India had few roads available. This made supply difficult. American ingenuity and troops solved that problem. The Air Transport Service flew men, equipment and supplies over jungles, rivers and mountains, and delivered them wherever needed. The American combat air forces protected the transports, scouted for the British troops, and attacked the Japanese. This job being now completed, the American fighting planes are leaving for other areas. A small force of American troops, and a considerable force of Chinese, aided the British and formed their left wing. These troops have now gone into China for a new task.

The recapture of Burma will not reopen the Burma Road into China. Prior to the war, supplies were brought in by sea to Rangoon. Rangoon is in British hands, and the port is once again open.

From Rangoon to Lashio—where the Burma Road starts—is 450 miles by railroad; or to Bhamo, another point on the road, over 500 miles by water up the Irrawaddy River. The boats on the river have been destroyed by American and British planes; so were the locomotives and cars on the railroad. Besides, the bridges have been blown up and the roadbed blasted out. Supplies to China will yet have to go by air, for a long time to come.

The Japanese still have a force in Burma just north from Rangoon. They also hold the long tail extending south from Rangoon. Fighting continues in these areas.

COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

WASHINGTON FRONT

THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION is one of those "independent" agencies I wrote about a couple of weeks ago. It belongs to none of the regular Departments, and is as large as most of them (witness its head-office building in Washington). It handles billions of dollars; it has a network of branch offices that blanket the United States; its activities are bewildering in their complexity. It makes the old-time Pension Office look like a country store.

The head of the Veterans Administration since its creation in its present form in 1930 is Gen. Frank T. Hines, who had also headed the old Veterans Bureau since 1923. It was he who had sent our two-million-odd soldiers overseas in the last war and brought the survivors home. As Administrator of Veterans Affairs (his official title), he has been an excellent executive, if that means the ability to decentralize enormous powers into a hierarchy of responsible officials, with restricted responsibility assigned all the way up the executive ladder. This he has done.

Two weeks ago, President Truman, as a calculated afterthought, announced at his press conference that Gen. Omar T. Bradley would succeed General Hines. His stated reason was that the veterans of this war would like to see as administrator of their affairs a veteran of this war; and his reason was a good one.

One can, however, speculate whether the President had not once again thought one move ahead (as he has shown a tendency to do). General Hines has been "under fire" for some time now by interested groups, who probably had candidates in mind. Mr. Truman, knowing the game, stopped it once for all by naming a candidate whom nobody had thought of and against whom nobody could vote.

There is just one catch or two, and this is the point of this communication. The head of a government agency has to be a politician as well as an executive. I mean one who can handle people in their human relationships. Government business is highly specialized. So also is the operating method of the Veterans Administration, which has been organized along the lines of approved social-work agencies. If General Bradley does not find it all too strange, he will last a long while.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

IN AN EDITORIAL on June 7, entitled "Timely Warning," The New York *World-Telegram* recommended to Catholics, Protestants and Jews careful reading of the Pope's Name-Day address. The warnings issued by His Holiness against the menace of Russian domination in Europe "were not the remarks of a master militarist," the editorial said; "they were the words of a pious man, humble in the sight of God but wise in the ways of statesmen. The world can well afford to heed his timely warning."

► Over ten million Catholics have come under direct Soviet rule through its annexation of territory in Eastern Europe, Stanislas Sopicki, Minister in the Polish Government in Exile, declared before the Catholic Alliance in London. He expressed the fear that Russia might attempt to force these people into schism by placing them under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow.

► The conviction that "the Church is no longer a menace to the state" was one of the chief reasons which induced the Soviet officials to permit the revival of the Orthodox Church in Russia, according to C. L. Sulzberger, correspondent for

the New York *Times*. "The State is now above the Church in the USSR," Mr. Sulzberger writes. "There isn't any contest. The Church loyally endorses all government decisions."

► Three Archbishops and twenty Bishops were among the distinguished assemblage which witnessed the consecration of the Most Rev. Louis F. Kelleher as Auxiliary Bishop of Boston in Holy Cross Cathedral on June 8. In his sermon the Most Rev. Charles F. Buddy, Bishop of San Diego, paid tribute to "the intrepid Bishops of Germany, of France and of Italy . . . who, without exception, resisted the encroachments of dictators, exposed their ideologies and condemned their cruelty."

► "Here is something the world has not tried," the Montevideo daily *El Bien Público* says in a recent editorial on *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. Describing the social doctrine in these encyclicals as "advanced, balanced, practical," the editorial declares: "Catholics have the obligation to study and apply this doctrine; non-Catholics cannot afford to ignore it."

LOUIS E. SULLIVAN

HOW WILL RECONVERSION AFFECT NEGRO WORKERS?

JULIUS A. THOMAS

ON V-E DAY I crossed a busy intersection in Harlem, observing the hilarious excitement occasioned by the end of the war in Europe. A few feet away stood a small group of young fellows about to join in the demonstration. One sober-faced youngster who seemed to share little of the enthusiasm of his friends suddenly burst forth with this observation: "Boy, what you so happy about—Don't you know that means the end of yo' job?"

Certainly, I would not say the attitude of this young man was typical of the Negro's reaction to the termination of one phase of the most brutal war in world history. Thousands of patriotic Negro families are rejoicing over the prospects of having husbands, brothers, sons and loved ones back home again. But for countless other families, Negro and white, the end of the war means loss of jobs and the end of war-born prosperity. Thus, the grim possibility of widespread unemployment hangs like a menacing cloud over the nation even before we silence the drums of war in the Pacific.

For the Negro worker, war has always been an important factor in shaping his economic destiny. The Civil War gave him the right to sell his labor as a free man, and the first World War enabled him to taste the fruits of industrial opportunity. The present war has opened wide new doors of employment, thereby permitting hundreds of thousands of Negroes to master new skills and industrial techniques. It is understandable, therefore, that many Negroes should anticipate with serious misgivings the possibility that the return to a peace-time economy will mean the loss of these newly acquired jobs in industry. What reconversion will mean for Negro wage-earners is, therefore, an important aspect of the whole problem of postwar employment. We shall not find a satisfactory solution for the over-all problem unless we face squarely and dispassionately the precarious position of 13,000,000 Negroes in our society.

The role of the Negro worker in the American economy is too well known to require additional documentation in this article. The patterns that were crystalized during the long years of slavery have changed but very little during the past 80 years, despite vast improvement in the Negro's educational opportunities. Only the fields of racial service have afforded the majority of trained Negroes a real chance to demonstrate their capacities and abilities, and this fact tends to perpetuate a narrow one-sided philosophy of Negro education. Thus the recent large-scale movement of Negro workers into industrial employment becomes more significant against this background of tradition in racial employment practices.

NEGRO LABOR DURING THE WAR

More than a million Negro workers have been added to the labor force during the past four years, while another million Negroes have been inducted into the Armed Forces. Unemployment has been virtually wiped out in most sections of the country. In the production of essential war materials one and a half million Negroes will be found. About 20 per cent of this number are women workers who were among the last persons called upon to round out our war-time labor force. While there has been a decided increase in the number of Negro workers employed in what we consider continuing industries, the majority of Negro war workers have been

employed in strictly war production. According to the War Manpower Commission's most recent reports, the Negro labor force in essential employment is distributed in the following categories: Shipbuilding, 192,000; Aircraft Production, 116,000; Ordnance and Communication Equipment, 122,000; Basic Metals and Rubber, 103,000; other munitions, 160,000. From these estimates it will be observed that 600,000 Negro workers are concentrated in the industries that will suffer most severe cutbacks when peace comes.

Another 210,000 Negro workers have increased the number on the Federal payroll from 60,000 to almost 270,000. Employed under temporary Civil Service contracts, many of these workers will be released six months after the end of the war or when their services are no longer needed. A substantial number of these government workers are in white-collar or clerical jobs, a field which has offered very limited opportunities for Negro workers. It is worth mentioning in this connection that before the war, 90 per cent of all Negro workers in Federal employment were classified as unskilled workers and were employed largely as janitors, messengers and laborers in custodial service. During the past four years, according to a study recently released by the Division of Analysis of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, the number of Negroes on the Federal payroll classified as clerical, administrative and technical workers constitutes almost 35 per cent of the total Negro employment. The percentage of Negro workers in the total government work force increased during the same period from 8.4 per cent to 12.5 per cent. This substantial change in the status of Negro government workers will be materially affected when demobilization of the vast army of civilian government workers finally begins.

THE NEGRO VETERAN

Approximately 1,100,000 Negroes have been inducted into the Army, Navy, Coast Guard and other branches of the Armed Forces. In this group are more than 50 per cent of all Negro males between 18 and 37 years of age. They have come from every section of the country in about the same proportion that they bear to the total local population. As would be expected, almost 70 per cent of the Negro enrollment in the military services came from the Southern states, and 50 per cent of this number are from rural sections of the South. We have only tentative estimates of the size of our peace-time Army and Navy, but it is very possible that we shall maintain a force of at least 2,500,000 men. Assuming that Negroes will constitute 10 per cent of the postwar Army, we may expect the eventual demobilization of almost 800,000 Negro veterans of this war.

The return of these men to civilian life will further intensify the employment problems of Negro wage-earners in spite of the provisions of the GI Bill of Rights. To begin with, relatively few Negroes in the Service had jobs to which they will want to return after the war. The most accurate estimates available indicate that not more than 25 or 30 per cent of all veterans will return to pre-war employment. It is doubtful that 15 per cent of Negro veterans held pre-war jobs that will satisfy them when they are discharged from the Service. We may expect, therefore, the return of some 700,000 Negro veterans to a saturated labor market soon after peace comes. An estimated 50,000 Negro veterans will take advantage of the educational opportunities offered in the GI Bill.

The adjustment of these men to our peace-time economy will not be an easy task. To begin with, Negroes in the Army and Navy have been used primarily in non-combat units—engineers, transport, quartermaster, communications, supply

and maintenance services. In addition to the basic military training which they have received, many of them have acquired skills and experience which they could never have gotten in civilian life. Undoubtedly they will prefer jobs in which some of these skills can be utilized. If they are denied a fair chance at available jobs in the occupational fields of their choice, they will have just cause to question the integrity of our peace aims just as they have had reason to doubt the sincerity of war aims when their interests were involved.

NEGRO MIGRATION

In the midst of the social and economic upheavals caused by this war, another significant change in the distribution of the Negro population has been observed. The movement from the farm to the city and from the South to the North—a movement which was sharply accelerated during World War I and immediately thereafter—has made the Negro predominantly an urban dweller. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported recently that the male Negro labor force on farms declined from 47 per cent in April, 1940, to 28 per cent in 1944. While this movement did not get under way until the need for workers in West Coast, Southern and Eastern shipyards became acute, at least 800,000 Negroes have deserted the farms for work in industrial plants during the past four years.

Whether or not these people will return to their rural habitat when the war is over is not certain at this point. The prospects are, however, that the vast majority will not return unless the much discussed industrialization of the South proceeds at a more rapid rate. It is even predicted that the end of war will usher in another period of migration from the South to the North, Middle West and West Coast. The movement, according to some observers, will be spearheaded by Negro veterans in search of better working and living conditions for themselves and their families. This unpredictable factor in the postwar attitudes of the nation's Negro population may exert a considerable influence on race relations not only in the field of employment but in many other areas of community life.

CAN WE SOLVE THE PROBLEM?

Most people agree that if we are able to maintain a high level of employment after the war, many of the problems discussed in this article will be resolved. Of course the future of our national well being can be said to depend on this imponderable. But the cold fact is that the Negro worker will have more than his rightful share of frustrations and disappointments in his efforts to broaden his economic outlook.

In the first place, a disproportionate number of Negro workers and veterans will have to be re-employed. They will be competing in a labor market against the best trained labor force the nation has ever produced. While most employers agree that Negro workers have demonstrated their ability to produce as much as any other workers when given an opportunity, strong pressures generated in an atmosphere of insecurity and fear may prove too powerful to overcome in the struggle for the continuation of fair employment practices after the war.

By no means should it be said that all employers will yield to the undemocratic attitudes which have their roots in race prejudice. The writer has talked with scores of industrialists who have given every assurance that they will continue to employ Negro workers and give them a fair chance to develop their skills and capabilities. But it should be remembered that many employers, even during the war, employed

Negro and other minority-group workers only to the extent necessary to comply with Federal directives and regulations. "The end of the war will give us the chance to eliminate many undesirable workers whom we didn't want in the first place," one employer remarked recently. Happily, this does not represent the attitude of the majority of progressive spokesmen for industry and business. Nor does it reflect the thinking of enlightened labor leadership whose influence has played no small part in removing many of the obstacles to the employment of Negro workers in the hundreds of war plants.

The solution to this vexing problem is to be found in the conscience of the American people. In no sense have the depressed masses of Negroes in America had a fair chance in the nation's economy. The rigid controls imposed by an unyielding caste system have "kept the Negro in his place" more often than they have given him an opportunity to know how it feels to be a first-class individual. This contradiction in our racial practices has not only restricted the Negro's opportunities for profitable employment but it has set him apart in an isolated compartment of our national culture. His personality, his family life, his chances for an education, his house, even the street in which he resides, reflect the devastating effects of cultural and economic ostracism.

The war has afforded an excellent opportunity to examine the basis of human relations in our society. Many thoughtful Americans have come to understand the real meaning of human freedom and equality of opportunity. They are more disposed to extend these fundamental rights to all American citizens regardless of race or religion. It is in this heartening possibility that we shall discover the courage and wisdom to make democracy a living reality.

WE CAN LOSE THE PEACE

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

REGARDLESS of the progress of the Pacific War, the next twelve or eighteen months are going to test the intelligence and discipline of the American people. They are going to do more: they are going to test the whole idea of democracy—the idea challenged by Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin and all their vest-pocket imitators—that government not merely of the people and for the people, but *by* the people, can function successfully in this complex modern world.

We have brilliantly met the challenge of war, but only, it should be remembered, by adopting some of the admittedly efficient techniques of collectivistic planning. Can we meet the challenge of peace with only our democratic intelligence and discipline to guide us?

It is entirely possible that we may win this most cruel and costly of wars and lose the peace, as happened in the three fateful years following the November armistice in 1918. I do not mean that this time we shall again try to pretend that we are not members of the human race, and leave the morally inferior Europeans to stew in their own embittered juice. Despite the unsatisfactory trend of peace-making right now, it is not at all likely that we shall refuse to join the United Nations Organization fashioned at San Francisco, and exert therein an influence commensurate with our standing and power in the family of nations. Unless the Gallup Poll is way off, the American people are done with isolationism; so that if another war comes, it will come in spite of their positive efforts, in conjunction with other nations, to prevent it.

ECONOMIC BASIS OF PEACE

But we can lose the peace in another way, too, and it is this possibility that I had chiefly in mind when I said above that the next year and a half will test our democratic wisdom and self-control. The fact is that we can lose the peace right here at home, lose it by letting greed and selfish nationalism and impatience with wartime restrictions wreck our postwar economic order and jeopardize international recovery. To ensure world peace, it is not sufficient to establish a juridical organization and make other plans of a political nature. It is also necessary to lay solid foundations for a prosperous world economy.

Referring to the intimate connection between relations among states and order within states, Pope Pius XII asserted, on Christmas Eve, 1942, that "international equilibrium and harmony depend on the internal equilibrium and development of the individual states in the material, social and intellectual spheres." He did not say that the business of earning one's daily bread is the whole of life (the Holy Father spoke of *social* and *intellectual* welfare, as well as of *material* welfare), but he did recognize that it is a very important part of life. Hungry and depressed nations are desperate nations, and desperate nations are not peaceful nations. This truth was also in the mind of the late President Roosevelt when he included "freedom from want" among the Four Freedoms basic to world peace, and when, in the Atlantic Charter, he called for free access to the raw materials of the world and economic cooperation among nations.

Now it is not entirely clear that the American people recognize either the economic inter-dependence of modern nations, or their own key position in the world economy and their responsibility to it. They do not understand any too well that, just as their power involves political responsibility, so their wealth engenders economic responsibility. If this estimate is not true, there does not seem to be sufficient reason for the present bitter opposition, extremely vocal in some quarters, to the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreements, renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, and to the whole idea of extending a generous hand to the war-shattered economies of Europe and the Orient. The selfishness of political nationalism we have come to condemn, but too many of us still do not understand that economic nationalism is only the other face of the same coin.

Similarly, we do not understand that we have an obligation, not merely to ourselves, but to all the world, to ensure so far as we are able a prosperous postwar economy in the United States. Some of us seem willing to gamble with our future, as if the rest of the world is, or ought to be, indifferent to whether the United States enjoys prosperity or wallows in depression. We do not seem to realize that a prosperous American economy is one of the keys to world prosperity and world peace. If we did, we would be much more determined than we are to avoid mistakes now which might adversely affect our future.

A TIME FOR DECISION

That is why I said in the beginning that the next twelve or eighteen months would test our democratic intelligence and discipline. During this time we must not only decide for or against international economic collaboration; we must also decide whether we are going to be an asset or a liability to the world economy. That is to say, we must decide whether we are going to ride into the postwar era on a tide of uncontrolled inflation, and thus prepare the way for a fatal collapse, or whether we are going to check our impatience, restrain our greed and make a mature, disciplined transition from war to peace.

At the present time there is a better prospect that we shall agree to economic collaboration with the world than that we shall manage our domestic economy wisely. This is a very confusing and paradoxical situation, since unenlightened self-interest might be expected to dictate just the opposite course. Nevertheless, the facts, at least as they appear to this writer, seem to support it. Bretton Woods and the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act have a better chance to slip through Congress than the country has to avoid an uncontrolled inflation.

INFLATION OR CONTROL?

Now I do not wish to be understood as saying that runaway inflation is inevitable—if I thought it was, I would not be writing this article—but only that it is more likely to happen than a return to economic isolationism. As a matter of consoling fact, there are sound reasons to believe that the people may yet realize their danger and demand, not weaker, but stronger price control and rationing. The current attack on OPA has achieved some measure of success partly because the American people, like other peoples, are tired of wartime restrictions, but partly because they have not remembered the economic mistakes of the last war as vividly as they recall the political mistakes. Sooner or later, and the sooner the better, the voice of reason will rise above the shrill clamoring of politics and selfish interest and win a popular following. President Truman's reference several weeks ago to "irresponsible attacks on OPA" has already helped to clear the air, as have Chester Bowles' courageous blasts at the inflationists on Capitol Hill.

STOP, LOOK, LISTEN

The truth, of course, is that we are now entering the most critical phase of the whole anti-inflation campaign, "sitting on the biggest keg of dynamite any nation ever sat on." A little history will help to make this clear.

From July, 1914, when World War I began, to Armistice Day in November, 1918, the cost of living advanced a little more than 60 per cent. Although this rise was serious enough, it was not fatal and might have been controlled. But the people were restless and tired of controls, as they are now, and so the Government, which among us is servant, not master, responded to public sentiment and released all the brakes. For a few months nothing much happened. Prices even declined a bit. But then the lightning struck. In nineteen months ending July, 1920, the cost of food rose 26 per cent above the level prevailing on Armistice Day, the cost of clothing 45 per cent, rents 23 per cent and house furnishings 43 per cent. When the bubble burst and the inevitable deflation set in, businesses failed left and right, farm mortgages were foreclosed, factories shut their gates. And thus it happened that our returning heroes changed into mufti and stepped out of war smack into depression and unemployment. Those of them that had to stand in breadlines suspected even then that they had won the war and the people back home had lost the peace. Before the decade was over, they knew it for certain, and so did everybody else.

The point that the American people must understand is that the danger of runaway inflation is greater today than it was in November, 1918, because the factors making for inflation are greater now than they were then. When the shooting stopped in 1918, the national debt amounted to \$26 billions. By the end of the current year it will be about \$288 billions! The national income is much larger now than it was then, and so are savings and bank-deposits and currency in circulation. At the same time, the goods for which this money might be spent are scarcer than they were in

1918, and will remain scarce for some time. There will be less food and clothing this year than last year, and the trickle of durable consumer goods expected by Autumn won't begin to satisfy the enormous pent-up demand. After all, we still have a major war on our hands, and industry must produce for it. If we take the brakes off now, what will happen will make the 1919-1920 binge seem like minor stuff, indeed. And we shall pay for it eventually, and so will the rest of the world, in bankruptcies, foreclosures, unemployment, breadlines—and war.

I trust that I do not exaggerate the danger. If you think I do, you may well be angry with yourself for having read this far. But if you agree with me, if you are convinced that OPA must not be weakened and that the line must be held, then you had better tell your Senators and your Representative about it post-haste. The Price-Control Act, which expires June 30, is having a rough passage through Congress, and unless you, and those who think as you do, make yourselves heard, the OPA may emerge emasculated. Tell your representatives in Washington to reject any amendment designed to weaken rationing and price control. If enough people do this, the inflation-minded lobbyists and their Congressional mouthpieces can still be checkmated.

What a tragedy it will be if we set our bright new world—the world of San Francisco and Bretton Woods and friendly trade among nations—afloat on a stormy sea of tumultuous inflation! If that happens, democracy will have failed the modern world, and the modern world may decide not to give it another chance.

REPORT ON THE RYUKYUS

DUFF COLEMAN

THE AMERICAN INVASION of the Ryukyus has sent cartographers scurrying to their drawing-boards, and teachers to the Encyclopedias. Heretofore these Islands had little importance to the American populace; now that hundreds of thousands of Yanks are ashore in this group of Islands, or in the adjacent waters, the domestic life of the American home is vitally affected.

Because of the important role the Ryukyus will play in the winning of the war against Japan, and the strategic position they hold in postwar guarantees of peace, it might be interesting to know a little about the veriform appendix of Honshu.

From now on the battle maps of the Pacific Theater of Operations will feature special names. Most of us are still vague on the meaning of Jima, Shima, Gunto, Retto, Shosho and Shoto. In referring to islands, the Japanese append a word to the proper name to designate number or size. Hence "Shoto" means a large group of Islands or an archipelago; "Gunto" (pronounced *Hoonto*) is a smaller group than a Shoto; "Retto" means a chain of Islands; "Jima" and "Shima" are interchangeable, and mean a single Island; "Shosho" means a small Island. Thus Nansei Shoto means the Southwestern Archipelago; Okinawa Gunto refers to the Okinawa group of Islands, and Okinawa Shima or Jima means the main Island.

STRATEGIC TOPOGRAPHY

The Great Glacier in its southern trek apparently decided to erect a natural sea wall or bulwark against the East China coast. The Ryukyus form an advanced breakwater about four hundred miles from the coast of China, making the China sea a quasi lake. They stretch about 775 miles from

Formosa to Kyushu, southernmost of the Japanese home islands.

In our strategy of island-hopping in the Pacific we have resoled our seven-league boots and made the most important stride since the war started. Possession of the Ryukyus means a severing of Japanese supply lines to the south, a direct approach to the China coast, and a front-door perch for the bombing of Tokyo with Superforts, aided by fighter escort.

Naha, the Capital and principal city of the Gunto, situated at the southwestern tip of the Island, is only 965 miles from Tokyo, and 200 miles from Kyushu, the start of the Jap homeland.

Okinawa Gunto is the most important of the Ryukyu group, comprising about 55 small islands. In this territory a natural seaplane base and an excellent naval base are provided by the tremendous number of small natural harbors and bays. Air-field potentialities are inexhaustible.

Okinawa Jima is the most valuable of the Gunto, lying approximately midway between Formosa and Honshu or Japan. The Jima is 65 miles long and ranges in width from three to fifteen miles. The topography is variegated, the terrain being broken by ridges, knolls and plateaus.

HISTORICAL FACTS AND FIGURES

First notice of the Island is taken by the Chinese in their history books of the year 600 A.D. The historian mentions an attempt by the Japanese to exact tribute from the King of Okinawa. The Regent refused and evidently was powerful enough to disdain threat. Nothing more is written about the Island until 1372, when the reigning monarch reconsidered the proposal of the Japanese anent "rendering unto Cesar" and opened discussions to renew the strained relations with the homeland. He was a wily gentleman, though, and assumed the toga of meekness only to foster trade relations and the possibility of extending his domain. But the Japanese were then as now deceitful and cunning. By the year 1450, the treaties were ignored and the little King was forced to pour the wealth of the Island into the coffers of the Son of Heaven. To add salt to the wound he was reduced in rank, and his claim to royal blood declared null and void. The Island became a prefecture of China. In 1895 Japan coerced China into acknowledging Nipponese sovereignty of the Gunto.

Commodore Perry established a coaling station at Naha in 1853 but, with the open-door policy he later effected in Japan, the Islands lapsed into unimportance. After 1935 the Japanese forgot their 1922 treaty with the United States in which they had agreed not to fortify the Islands.

The natives are of the same race and tongue as the Japanese but, because of infiltration of Chinese and Korean blood by intermarriage, they are ostracized and enjoy no social standing, being assigned to the most menial labors when they are brought to the homeland as "recruits." The Okinawans are shorter, stockier and a shade darker in complexion than the Japanese. They do not show their age and retain a youthful physiognomy until late in middle age. They have the same high cheekbones, but wider eyes. Their faces are very rotund and most have rosy cheeks. The men allow their beards to grow; the women are huskier than the men, since they do all the work.

Because the Japanese current favors the Island, the weather is similar to Lower California. The intense heat of the sun is tempered by a cool, refreshing breeze which sweeps down from the northeast. The nights are very cool and damp. The sudden drop in temperature can be felt directly the sun disappears over China, and that is the signal for heavy jackets.

The monsoon and typhoons frolic gaily over the Ryukyus from May to October. It rains throughout the year on the average of four times a week, the precipitation averaging annually about 82 per cent. In spite of the almost constant rainfall, there is still an acute water problem. The rain water is little better than sea water, because of its high chloride content. Drinking water must be imported from Japan, and baths are a community undertaking. The main causes of this paradoxical drought are the extremely absorbent and porous soil; the incredible depth of natural springs, which make it financially impossible to dig wells; too few rivers (and those that do course throughout the island are narrow and shallow); there are no natural reservoirs, and any water that might be drained from the land is polluted by the habit of fertilizing the soil with human excrement.

DAILY LIFE THE OKINAWAN WAY

Okinawa is a picturesque little shima. The vast coral expansion prohibits extensive cultivation, but what land is available is worked over inch by inch. Man-made ditches and drains encompass every acre of arable soil. The entire island, with the exception of Naha and Shuri, is pastoral and bucolic.

There are little villages dotting the island—all small and typical of each other. One can find a temple, a meeting house, a drug-store and a half dozen or more dry-goods shops. There may have been other places of business but, on account of the devastating bombardment before the invasion, it is difficult to determine. The town is the center of rural life.

The farms are pathetically small, and the farm-houses more so. The buildings are one-story, wooden structures with thatch roofs. There is one large room, a small place in the corner for a fireplace and a room off to the side which must have been the bedroom, because straw pallets were found there. The ordinary farmer has one horse or a cow, some goats, a family of pigs and a few scrawny chickens. Cabbage, rice and carrots grow in plenty, and seem to be the main food dish. Few homes boast any furniture. Meals are taken on small individual teak-wood tables, while squatting on the floor. Vermin infest the Island, and disease is rampant. The unbalanced diet, poor living conditions and lice and other insects take all but the healthiest of the population in early adolescence.

All the houses are banked with trees and shrubbery. This is a preventative against the raw night, and to assure some permanence to the dwelling during the typhoons which sweep the region.

In the villages we find the houses a little better constructed. Gable-roofs adorn the stores and homes of the more opulent. Brick walls keep out the uninvited, and protect against the strong winds.

The village as the center of community life provided for the entertainment of the agriculturists. No doubt they gathered around the local stores or barber-shops as Americans do in rural communities and exchanged gossip. If not on Saturday night, then on the *Baraku*, the day of rest. This occurred on the first, eighth, fifteenth and twenty-fourth of a lunar month. Relaxation from their arduous tasks was found by the women and children in visits to the temple and shrines, ball-games and other forms of recreation indulged in by the American school girl, such as ring-around-the-roses, or tag. The men primed themselves for the *zuriana*, a procession of the local party girls who rode through the villages on hobby-horses.

Naha is the principal city of the Gunto and the Shima. The population is said to be 65,000 people. A segment of the

city is devoted to a Latin- or Bohemian-Quarter wherein all the entertainment is found. There are theatres, restaurants and Japanese editions of the American night club. Business gatherings, meetings of the local gentry, parties and conventions are held in this section of the metropolis. In typical Nipponese fashion, wives are definitely not invited. It is understood that the Geisha is more discerning of the difficulties of the "tired business man" than his spouse could possibly be.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND PRACTICE

While Shintoism is accepted as the national belief, through the centuries a smattering of Confucianism, Christianity and certain Oriental doctrines have been imbibed. The net result of the religious practice is a species of Pantheism. However, ancestral worship seems to be still prevalent. The Island is dotted with tombs, the custom attached to which is most interesting.

The tomb is fashioned on the side of a hill. An indentation is cut into the hill about eight to ten feet wide and fifteen to twenty feet inward from the base of the rising. An arch of rocks is built around the hillside surrounding this indentation, which resembles a huge keyhole. The indent is then covered from just below the apex of the encircling rocks, down the hillside to form a vault over half the original indenture. A wall is then built from the ground level up to this cover. The walls on either keyhole are also cemented to form a small enclosure inside the ring. Now they carve out a door in the center wall about four feet high and three feet wide. This gives access to the vault under the stone canopy. The interior room is then cemented on all three walls. Steps—three or four—extend the length of the cubicle.

The tomb from the outside is supposed to resemble the womb with child. Since we come from the womb at birth it is therefore fitting that we be returned to the womb at death. To carry out this ideology, the corpse is bound up as closely as possible to resemble a foetus, and the body is then placed in a squatting position on one of the steps in the vault. From time to time the relatives visit the tomb and anoint the corpse. This causes it to resemble papyrus and seem mummified. Eventually the ancestor becomes tired of this awkward position and his bones begin to relax and fall apart at the joints. The body is now laid on the stone step and left until complete decomposition of the flesh has resulted. The bones are gathered up and placed in an urn on one of the top shelves to make room for the next to become defunct. The urn may be elaborate in design or very simple and cheap, according to the financial status of the bereaved family. These tombs seem to have been in existence for hundreds of years, and at least a dozen can be seen on every farm.

ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICANS

The natives are simple and unassuming. Most of them have the rudiments of education, and a school can be found in every village. But in spite of the upset condition of the world they have been kept in ignorance of the outside world. They did not question the intensive armament of the island, the elaborate digging and reinforcing of caves, the advent of thousands of Japanese soldiers, the daily visit of American Superforts and the propaganda about the blood-thirstiness of the American doughboy. Most of them were unaware of the existence of war between the United States and the land of the Rising Sun until American warriors leaped ashore and took them into custody. A few are recalcitrant and some have made attempts on the lives of the

Americans but, on the whole, they are tractable and willing workers. They have now lost their fright of the wild and woolly Yank and accept his good-will gestures of food, clothing and farm implements. It seems incredible, but the Islanders are actually about fifteen hundred years behind civilization. They use only the crudest, hand-fashioned tools for farming and other chores.

They seem happy to wear some part of the uniform of the American soldier in lieu of the impracticable kimona. Many of them, unable to obtain at first anything but undergarments, proudly showed up for labor parties clad in those garments.

Taken by and large, the inhabitants of Okinawa will fare better under the administration of their Occidental brethren than under the enlightening rule of the Greater East Asia Cooperative and Betterment Society. Surely the Imperial mind was never uneasy about their condition throughout the past hundreds of years.

THE CHALLENGE OF COMPULSORY JURISDICTION

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

SAN FRANCISCO—It isn't easy to transmute dry reports into flesh and blood, especially when you are talking of legal matters, but a Peruvian by the name of Gallagher managed to do this recently at UNCIO when he gave the account of his committee's work on the International Court of Justice. Manuel C. Gallagher, head of the Delegation from Peru and Foreign Minister of Peru, called upon the spirit of his grandfather's people and came through with what the correspondents who heard him in his witty press conference adjudged to be the best traditions of the Irish. That Señor Gallagher spoke in Spanish did not detract from his wit, which was Irish in any language.

As Chairman of Committee IV/1 dealing with the International Court of Justice, Señor Gallagher gave a clear and lively evaluation of the interplay of idealism and realism that has been constantly at work at this Conference. Misgivings in the minds of Catholics who have taken seriously the urgings of the Holy Father and of the Bishops of the United States on behalf of a new world built on justice and law were met and explained as well as they could be. These misgivings have been caused by the gradual evolution of the new charter into something less than an institution in which law is supreme. In particular, these fears have been emphasized by the growing clarification of the nuclear role of the big Powers in the forthcoming organization.

Señor Gallagher's conference took place on June 9, and was a general survey of the work accomplished by his committee. An important part of this work was the problem of compulsory or optional jurisdiction of the court over legal disputes. In very frank terms we were told that "law is not supreme in this organization because neither the law, nor the people are ready for such a drastic step. The only hope for compulsory jurisdiction must lie in the gradual acceptance, voluntarily, by each nation, of the optional clause."

Basically, there will never be a true international juridical order so long as nations individually or collectively retain unto themselves the right to be judge in their own case. If we continue to assert our rights unilaterally, irrespective of the principle and processes of justice, and try to exercise our self-awarded judgments, we will never have world order. The head of the Uruguayan delegation, José Serrato, has said

clearly and forcibly before another committee: "All international disputes can be solved by legal means, whether they are juridic or political in character." Compulsory adjudication or arbitration remains the basic solution for a genuine juridical order to which the Pope and our own Bishops have pointed the way.

But, as Señor Gallagher has reported to us, the time is not ripe for such compulsory jurisdiction. Said he: "We are not forming an ideal organization, but the best possible organization in the present condition of the world." The fact of the matter is that those statesmen, with the best good will in the world, feel that political considerations will for a long time to come remain the paramount factors of international policy. International law is not sufficiently developed; nor, unfortunately, are the hearts of men sufficiently weaned from the doctrines of absolute sovereignty.

It was with regret that Americans learned that the chief opponent of compulsory jurisdiction was their own country. It is felt by our officials on the American delegation that compulsory jurisdiction for the International Court of Justice would be a political liability when the time comes to sell the charter to the American people. The ghost of the World Court dispute still broods over the Senate. It is disconcerting to learn from the Chairman of the Committee on the International Court of Justice that right here at home lies the major opposition to a future world organization in which law and not Power politics would be the supreme consideration.

I have heard members of the delegation here say that they are not in sympathy with the official view of the American delegation. They are not so sure that the people would reject compulsory jurisdiction. But the decision is made. The United States played a leading (though not a solitary) role in scuttling any proposals in this direction.

PRESENT OUTLOOK

The issue is not dead, by any means. Compulsory jurisdiction has many friends who will be heard from in the post-war years. They were heard from, with a vengeance, in Señor Gallagher's Committee. "I heard twenty-six speeches in one day," he reported, "and if you count in the translations into two and sometimes three languages, that makes seventy speeches on the subject of compulsory and voluntary jurisdiction." The issue was in the end decided by a narrow margin, "because the idealists are hard to convince."

Practical reason prevailed over the idealists, among whom I suppose most Catholics should be listed in this debate. The big Powers, particularly the United States and Russia, stood in the way. "If in the Republic of Plato," continued Señor Gallagher, "we established compulsory jurisdiction, without the United States and the other great Powers, this would not bring compulsory jurisdiction down out of the Empyrean."

Similar realism leaves the Court with merely recommendatory powers. It can render judgment but cannot do more than call attention of the Security Council to cases where these judgments are not obeyed. The International Court of Justice can at most serve as "merely an alarm bell for the Council, to which they may listen but need not."

The challenge presented to those who want to see the rule of law in international relations and not merely political decisions is this: If Señor Gallagher and the members of his committee and our American delegation are right, and the world is not yet ready for compulsory jurisdiction, then the long-range task of the future postwar years is a steady campaign to develop both international law and the willingness of our people to submit their disputes to the impartial decision of judicial process.

WAR CRIMINALS

THE RECENT STATEMENT of Justice Robert H. Jackson, made in his role as counsel for the United States in prosecuting Axis war criminals, has attracted much attention and been the occasion for speculation that in it he has enunciated the national policy of the United States.

Briefly, what Mr. Jackson sought to establish was a legal basis for the punishment of "top Nazis." The mere fact that Nazis did evil deeds is not enough; those evil deeds must have been also, and at the time, crimes before the law. Mr. Jackson finds illegality of many of the Nazis' misdeeds in the fact that by both the Geneva Protocol of 1924 and the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928, war of aggression has been declared "an illegal thing . . . an international crime," and been so recognized by all the signatory nations, which included Germany, Japan and Italy.

Mr. Jackson does not stop there. He holds, further, that all acts done in anticipation of an aggressive war fall within the intention of the law established by the two above agreements. Such acts, the Justice holds, were all part of the "master plan" for world domination by aggressive war.

The implications of this further step in Mr. Jackson's reasoning are fraught with deadly serious consequences. Under it, the number of Germans who will fall under suspicion as "war criminals" will be tremendously enlarged; the justice that must deservedly be meted out to the real criminals will be impeded by a lengthy weeding-out process; the desirable rehabilitation of Germany will be delayed.

But Mr. Jackson's statement has perhaps been examined by the press too much in isolation. It is only fair to balance its rather alarming proposals with a prior declaration by the Justice, wherein he displayed a truly fine and Christian philosophy of law. Speaking on April 13 before the American Society of International Law, he declared his stand for the concept of a court "as an independent body that neither serves nor controls policy"; if war criminals are to be tried, it must be before such independent courts, for "we must not use the forms of judicial proceedings to carry out or rationalize previously settled political or military policy." With regard to war criminals, as to all others, "you must put no man on trial before anything that is called a court, if you are not prepared to establish his personal guilt." Further, he added, "you must put no man on trial if you are not willing to hear everything relevant that he has to say in his defense and make it possible for him to obtain evidence from others."

Finally, before going on to other aspects of international law, Mr. Jackson reiterates his concept of law as applied to the war criminals:

I repeat: I am not saying there should be no trials. I merely say that our profession should see that it is understood that any trials to which lawyers worthy of their calling lend themselves will be trials in fact, not merely trials in name, to ratify a predetermined result.

With such an approach to the war trials we are heartily in agreement, but it seems that the very nobility of Mr. Jackson's ideals in the matter render his broadening of the grounds for trial impractical, to say the least. If every German who has placed "acts in anticipation" of aggressive war is to get the fair and equitable trial that Mr. Jackson's philosophy of law demands, it will be years before such a proceeding will end: one English member of the War Crimes Commission has estimated that nearly four million Germans can be considered "war criminals."

It would seem that justice can best be obtained by lessening, rather than by enlarging, the number of Germans who may have been contributory to the aggressive war. If Mr. Jackson's philosophy prevails throughout the actual trials, as we devoutly hope it will, and if, at the same time, the sincere effort is made to keep at a minimum the number of Germans made to stand trial, there is good hope that only undoubted war criminals will receive their just punishment.

If there is an unholy zeal to ferret out every last minor German "war criminal," then, despite the high principles Mr. Jackson has enunciated, there is danger that the war trials will result in procrastination, bungling, continued tension and, in the end, many a miscarriage of justice.

REMOVING CAUSES OF WAR

ONE OF THE PLEASANT surprises of the San Francisco Conference has been the broadening of the provisions for social and economic cooperation only vaguely envisaged at Dumbarton Oaks. Although public attention has naturally been focused on the dramatic disputes which divided the Big Three—colonial policy, Poland, the "Veto"—it may well be that the under-publicized work done by the Technical Committee on the proposed Economic and Social Council will one day be recognized as the most constructive feature of the Conference. After all, the Security Council, where the real power of the projected World Organization resides, is mainly concerned with stopping aggression—by force, if necessary—wherever and whenever it impends. The Economic and Social Council will deal with the root causes which give rise to aggression in the first place.

In this respect, the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were discouragingly and dangerously deficient. Although the Big Four did make some provision for an economic council (Chapter 9), it was obvious from the vagueness of the wording that they placed little stock in it. Constructive critics immediately pointed out that in this respect, as well as in others, the proposed United Nations Organization fell short of the Atlantic Charter, which had frankly vindicated the right of all nations, large and small, to have access, "on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world." It had also promised economic cooperation among nations with a view to securing for all "improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security." Nothing so specific appeared in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Similar criticism cannot be fairly directed against the Economic and Social Council that is being created at San Francisco. What was conceived at Dumbarton Oaks as a subsidiary organization with very limited functions, now emerges as one of the principal organs of the new World Organization, ranking in importance with the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretariat, and equipped with reasonably satisfactory powers to deal with the economic and social causes of war. It will be composed of eighteen members elected by the General Assembly, will decide all questions democratically by majority vote, and will report directly to the all-powerful Security Council. It will carry out its functions by initiating studies of social and economic problems, by promoting civic freedoms, by convening international congresses, by making recommenda-

tions and reporting to the Assembly and Council on how they are carried out, and by coordinating the work of all affiliated social and economic bodies. In a word, the Economic and Social Council will have the job of showing that a world dominated by three great Powers can also be a world in which the Four Freedoms prevail. It deserves wholehearted encouragement.

"FOR PEACE AND ITALY"

ON JUNE 12 THE VATICAN issued a pamphlet entitled *The Holy See's Work for Peace and Italy*. It appears to be a supplement to the Pope's recent Name Day address, for it carries on and completes the account which His Holiness gave in that address of the relations of the Church with the Axis Governments in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war. In the Name Day address His Holiness recounts the successive measures by which Hitler attempted to devitalize the Church in Germany. This new pamphlet records the long struggle he carried on with Mussolini in an effort to keep Italy out of the war. Together they form an historical document of the highest authority as providing an authentic account of the role which the Holy See played in those critical years.

The period which the pamphlet covers are the nine months just prior to Italy's declaration of war on June 10, 1940. During that period the Italian people were divided amongst themselves, shifting and vacillating in their attitude toward the war. Mussolini worked tirelessly by every means of propaganda at his disposal to unite them in an aggressive war spirit. The Pope worked equally hard in the opposite direction to put a brake on the trend towards war and intensify the feeling for peace.

The pamphlet records the means which he took to achieve this end and Mussolini's reaction to them. Through his ambassador to the Holy See, the Duce protested against the pacific tone and tendencies of *Osservatore Romano*, the prayers for peace recited in the Churches throughout Italy, and the public utterances of the Pontiff. He was angered by the letter which His Holiness had written to him in a last attempt to stave off war, and accused the Vatican of instigating the peace demonstrations which all through those months broke out periodically in various parts of Italy. Against all these representations the Holy Father stood firm. He replied to Mussolini that it was his duty to work for peace and that he would continue to do so even at the risk of being sent to a concentration camp.

The pamphlet is factual, thoroughly documented and complete. It will be invaluable for historians and others sincerely interested in getting at the truth. It would be too much to hope, of course, that it will put an end to the false accusations made in Moscow and eagerly repeated by all who sympathize with Moscow's purpose in its hostile propaganda against the Vatican. That purpose is evident. They hope that by tying up the Church with Fascism and Nazism they can bring down upon her a share of the hatred and contempt with which those institutions are universally regarded. No amount of evidence to the contrary will avail with them. They will go right on repeating their accusations, however wild and unfounded. But for others the pamphlet provides a soundly demonstrated and convincing reply to these charges.

SAN FRANCISCO ROUND-UP

THE FINAL STAGES of the United Nations Conference have now been reached, and present indications are that it will conclude its business by June 23. The conclusion will not be the consummation devoutly wished by all idealists, nor will it satisfy the enormous appetite of the cynic for cold porridge and burnt toast.

In the final sessions of the Conference, several issues came up for rather sharp debate both in the committees and in the General Assembly. Nearly all of these matters are in some way or other subsidiary to the crucial question of the Veto power. The question may be best understood in the following form: How can a reasonable balance be struck in the power relation between the Big Five and the Little Forty-Five? To the solution as given in the present Charter the Little Forty-Five have strenuously objected on the grounds that it creates a dictatorship of the Big Powers. Mr. H. V. Evatt, who skilfully conducted the small nations' opposition, put the case this way: "The present interpretation gives too narrow a meaning to 'freedom of consideration and discussion' and really only amounts to the power of discussing whether a question may be discussed and investigating whether a dispute may be investigated." In other words, the small nations contended for removal from the Big Five of the veto power over decisions of the Security Council relating to thorough investigation and peaceful settlement of disputes. The veto power was also the main target in the small nations' effort to liberalize the process by which amendments to the Charter could be made, and for a new constitutional convention to be called within a definitely assigned and not-too-remote future.

The adamant opposition of the Big Five to these proposals is readily explainable. Mr. L. B. Pearson, the Canadian representative, went to the heart of the matter when he declared, in effect: "This is not an ideal but rather a political decision. The answer to Australian, Belgian and other small nations' objections is not to be found in abstract logic, but in the world as it is." In "the world as it is," the great nations that are equipped to wage modern war find themselves at the present moment divided by conflicting principles, sentiments and interests. Unless unanimity in major decisions be made the prevailing rule at the Council, the inevitable result will be the creation of rival blocs—the prelude to another war. This does not mean that we lack sympathy or withhold support for the aspirations of small nations for a more audible voice in the Councils of the United Nations. It only means that we recognize, along with most of the small nations themselves, that the best they can attain for some time to come will be exactly measured by unanimity in principles and major policies as achieved by the Big Powers.

Let us face the facts. The Charter of the United Nations provides an admirable set of principles and processes by which Peace with Justice may some day be achieved. Right now, however, even its limited realization depends upon the day-to-day good will and cooperative spirit of the three great nations, such as was lauded by President Truman when he recently commented upon Russo-American relations. The spirit, at present, is predominantly founded upon national self-interest. Yet this very self-interest, if it be truly enlightened and preserved by every legitimate means, may well be the only method by which the present uneasy dispersion of interest and understanding may be gradually drawn together and grappled by precedent to the ideal unity under objective principles of international law and order. Thus we will inch toward a better world. A small ideal? But a real one, worthy of the efforts and prayers of all men.

LITERATURE AND ART

VISION OR VISIONS?

NELSON W. LOGAL

THE DISCUSSION of vision in Catholic Art (AMERICA, February 28, April 21) has proved to be very stimulating. In rounding off the discussion, I have no desire to enter a mere debate; I simply hope that the inquiry will contribute in some small measure to ultimate discovery in this problem which has so important a bearing on native Catholic literature and education.

Mr. O'Brien and I agree on so many points that it seems almost a shame we must disagree on essentials. Both of us have indicted Catholic education for the relative poverty of native Catholic art: he accuses it of the substantial defect of failing to give the Catholic artist a vision of the sacramental nature of the universe; I have denied this and I have attempted to explain the failure on the more accidental level of defective technique.

Mr. O'Brien presents an interesting and provocative case. In his own words, the Catholic artist lacks an "essential vision of the sacramental nature of the universe," which confuses him in the face of the necessary "complete consecration . . . to the task at hand," and this is to be attributed to the fault of Catholic education, which fails, among other things, to teach "dogmatic theology, which alone can give a real vision of the sacramental universe."

This intriguing theory rests on the premise that many Catholic artists actually lack an essential vision of the sacramental universe. This is the precise point on which I cannot agree with Mr. O'Brien. The issue is tremendously important, for if Catholics (artists or laymen) do not possess this essential vision, I find it difficult to see why they should even be called Christians—to say nothing of Catholic artists—for the sacramental universe is one of the essential teachings in the Faith of Christ.

Karl Adam, in *The Son of God*, has observed that there are three essential marks in Christianity: its eschatological aspect, its unique sacramentalism, and its sociological form. A faith lacking any one of these three essential marks is essentially a defective faith. Consequently, a Catholic so blinded to this vision of a sacramental universe would prove to be not only a confused and schizophrenic artist; he would not even be a Christian in the full sense of the word.

Now unless I am terribly mistaken in fundamentals, a vision of the sacramental universe is given to Catholics by the Faith and Religion of Christ and not by the formal Science of Religion, Dogmatic Theology—or by any other subject in the curriculum of Catholic education. A sacramental universe has always been a fundamental proposition of the Religion of Christ; formal dogmatic theology did not come until relatively late in the Christian era. It was Christ, and not Saint John Damascene or Peter Lombard, who gave this vision to men as one of their most precious insights. I am therefore forced to disagree with Mr. O'Brien when he says: "dogmatic theology . . . alone can give a real vision of the sacramental universe [the point of my former article, by the way]."

Christ's Faith enables men to see "a universe trembling with God's own holiness." This vision comes to men previous to any formal education which they may receive, and it is independent of any talent which they may possess. It is born of the educative action of the Faith of Christ and ultimately

it is one of those mysteries of the power of God's Grace in the human soul. For this reason, I observed that a denial of this vision can be construed as an indictment of the Grace of God rather than a stricture on Catholic education. I am not at all worried about the Arians who aroused Saint Jerome; any gift can be thrown away or destroyed by deliberate abuse.

If such a vision were dependent on higher education, we should be forced to maintain that the faith of millions of Catholics is essentially malformed, because they have not enjoyed the advantage of a college education. This is manifestly absurd.

Consequently, maintaining that a vision of the sacramental universe is not dependent on college education, I could criticize without contradiction various elements in the teaching of Catholic colleges and still maintain that these defects do not blind the students to a vision of the sacramental universe.

Many facts about Catholic life prove that this essential vision is the common possession of those within the House of Faith, regardless of the degree of their education. The common religious practices of Catholics show how completely they possess this vision; often they are accused of superstition and excess because of the simple, warm and human expressions which they give to this vision which illuminates their souls. Contact with Catholics in all conditions of life has convinced me that this is one vision native to the Faith. I have seen it in the resilient faith of poverty-stricken residents of city slums. I have recognized it in the strength of unlearned laborers' devotion. The mystery of its touching beauty never fails to leave me gratefully reverent. Such is the radiant power of the light that shines in darkness. If this is true of lettered and unlettered laymen, why must we deny this vision to the aspiring Catholic artist?

Mr. O'Brien has evolved a novel theory from this premise which I have challenged. He sees the soul of the artist torn between the stern dedications demanded by art and by God, so that the artist is faced with a consecratory dilemma which affects his art for better or for worse, depending upon the way in which the conflict is solved.

Now a law of economy must be observed in fitting explanations to given facts; a simple and direct explanation has priority over a complex and remote explanation. There is an atmosphere of preciosity in Mr. O'Brien's theory and it requires a very deep mining into the subconscious of the Catholic artist to have validity. This is why I formerly remarked that his theory seemed to be the result of a theoretical approach to (not acquaintance with, please note) the whole problem.

I have no doubt that certain hypersensitive and scrupulous souls might be divided in this dedicatory tension, but I see no reason why such a conflict must be posited in the soul of every aspiring artist who does not happen to make the grade. The great majority of Catholics have a very unquestioning approach to work in business, politics and the professions. Why must this radical turmoil of soul be advanced as the specific occupational disease of Catholic artists?

An explanation of the relative poverty of Catholic art and literature based on defective technique seems to be a far simpler and more immediate solution to the problem. Now I am by no means a worshiper of mere technique, for I realize that technique without substance will produce a charlatan or a hack more readily than it will produce an artist.

Mere technique, in the sense of mechanical adroitness and a clever employment of devices, is the curse of much that passes as modern literature and art. Real technique must well up naturally from the substantial depths of culture; it is far more than a mere polishing device. Consequently, technique, in the sense in which I have used it, includes a host of visions as well as a book of rules.

Here is where I have blamed Catholic education. I do not believe that it can be accused of failing to impart a sacramental vision of the universe—for that vision comes from other sources—but, for reasons which I indicated in my former article, I do believe that it can be accused of failing to develop many auxiliary visions in students that are essential to real technique and artistic excellence.

For instance, it does not give students a clear enough insight into the eternal wonders of man's nature, or a compelling curiosity about the perennial novelty of ordinary things and the possibilities of their relation one to another as indices of meaning, or an appreciation for the significance of homely everyday happenings. Such insights are obliterated in Catholic education's soaring excursions into the fields of sheer abstraction and its almost exclusive preoccupation with universals.

It seems that exaggerated intellectualism of Catholic education tends to produce a characteristic abstruseness in the art and literature of native Catholics, which is manifested by a lack of color, warmth, spontaneity, sympathy and enthusiasm in their works. Werfel has been discussed. Part of his exquisite technique is his ability to sing the song of men. What gives his *Song of Bernadette* such penetrating charm and appealing popularity is not so much the uninhibited verve with which he entered his work or the orthodoxy of his theological vision, as it is his accurate vision of the lovely and enchanting humanity of Bernadette.

Auxiliary visions are a necessary part of artistic and literary technique. When an artist begins to work, things are as important as ideas. A detached intellectualism has congealed the wealth of values in Catholic education and tends to dry up what springs of creative fertility there may be in native Catholics. If Catholic education can communicate the lesser auxiliary insights to its students—and here it is competent—the essential vision of a sacramental universe contained in our Faith will be released and translated into art forms. The Catholic does not lack an essential vision or a worth-while culture to form the substance of his literature and art; he lacks familiarity with the proper approach, the exacting tempo, the contemporary manner and, in short, the full technique by which he can translate his vision into the plastic forms of the world's art and literature.

I also agree with Mr. O'Brien in recognizing certain tensions and conflicts which cause native Catholic writers difficulty; but I would place these cleavages on a different level. He finds them in the hidden recesses of an artist's soul; I see them in the objective interplay between the artist's habits of thought and the demands of his environment.

The Catholic lives in a world of dual cultural patterns. His religious faith and basic culture are "ideational," but he is bottled up in a social environment where "sensate" cultural patterns hold sway. Since he cannot hermetically seal himself from the world of his times, he is in intimate contact with two essentially different levels of culture: from the one he derives his philosophy and values; from the other, he gains his ideals of expression—for its manners and modes are overwhelmingly preponderant.

This accounts for the fact that when the native Catholic writer begins to work he finds himself retarded by the modes of his education which have encased him in a shell of habits

belonging to a different tradition. A natural tension results between the way in which he had been trained to think and the way in which he knows that he must translate his thought into modern art forms. He is obliged to make a radical transition from the ideational pattern of his culture to a sensate pattern of expression. Here is an area ripe for conflict. Oftentimes the same tension can be found in the writings of native Catholics that is noticeable in a person who uses an unfamiliar tongue. The precision and ease which are necessary in literature are replaced by a strained rigidity. On this basis it is easy to understand why the Catholic writer halts and stammers at times. Many of Louis B. Doyle's keen observations in his essay, *Cruel to be Kind* (AMERICA, April 28), can be explained on this basis.

Catholic education, by emphasizing technique and stressing the auxiliary visions, can do much to solve such conflicts and to ease the tensions noted. Up to the present it has not helped much. Its forms and methods have changed little with the passing centuries; and so the student is pickled in habits and processes of expression that have little relevance to the requirements of the day. This is unfortunate, for the wealth of values in the educational content of Catholic colleges remains locked up in the cold-storage vaults of yesterday's world.

The relative superiority of our convert authors seems to corroborate this observation. They do not differ from their native Catholic brethren in a central vision of the nature of the universe; but they do possess a different and superior technique for they have been nurtured and matured in the manners and the techniques of the day. Consequently they do not experience the same difficulties faced by native Catholics when they seek to translate their visions and culture into the present-day patterns of literature, for their education has not given them an archaic accent. Our convert authors therefore excel in unfolding Catholic cultural values with a power, beauty and graciousness that are acceptable to the people of their times.

All signs indicate that the clashing gears in the literature and art of native Catholics should not be placed back in the recesses of their subconscious nor in spiritual cleavages between dedications: the real conflicts and tensions can be found in the awkwardness experienced in conciliating the demands of dual cultural patterns.

Newman has warned us against the folly of expecting education alone to develop genius or even a great art. Most certainly the same is true of technique. But education can discover and encourage potential artists, and full technique can put them in tune with their times and equip them for their tasks. When Catholic education begins to make the necessary adjustments to thus modernize itself, we shall soon see if the poverty of Catholic art and literature is due to a favoritism of nature, a central blindness, or a failure of the schools. Until more cogent proof is available, I prefer to blame the schools for an accidental, if very important, failure.

There is a desperate need in the world for Catholic philosophy and culture. An art and literature by effective Catholic artists can do much to breathe the Catholic spirit back into the world. At present our convert authors are bearing the greater share of the burden. The slow progress of native Catholics is puzzling many observers. Many answers are being suggested to explain this problem. A variety of opinions is bound to arise. Disagreements among individuals are relatively unimportant: the important thing is to hasten the day when the searchlight of a great art and literature by Catholics will play upon the world. We can all contribute something—even in our disagreements.

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BOOKS**WHAT IS THE CATHOLIC COLLEGE?**

THE IDEA OF A CATHOLIC COLLEGE. By John Julian Ryan. Sheed and Ward. \$2

PROFESSOR RYAN announces in the first sentence of his book that he has no intention of presenting a treatise, an invective or a plea. He is faithful to this disclaimer throughout. Nevertheless his *Idea of a Catholic College* will inevitably raise fighting questions. Are our existing Catholic colleges (76 men's, 117 women's) distinguishably Catholic or do they make too many concessions to the spirit of the times, to secularist conceptions of education and secularist practices? Has our struggle for survival, or our effort to compete with bigger secular colleges and universities, diluted all unconsciously our standards of what a Catholic college should be? Does the prevailing paganism of the day—"with its terrible cleavage of the spiritual from the bodily, the religious from the secular, Heaven from earth"—demand a much sharper focus on peculiarly Catholic ends and means in education?

The answer given in Professor Ryan's book to all these questions is a strongly implied Yes. The aim of the Catholic college, he says, should be to train for a Catholic way of life. This way consists of following a vocation, no matter what one's work, as a living member of the Mystical Body of Christ. Consequently the Catholic college must be designed to educate its students in the various arts, spiritual and secular, required by this way of life. In order to achieve this aim, there is need for the Catholic college to employ, consciously and without compromise, the appropriate means. The course of studies will therefore have as its two main subjects applied theology and applied philosophy. All the subjects of the curriculum will best be integrated, primarily, in terms of charity, secondarily and subordinately, in terms of skill. Finally, the teacher, who will be chiefly occupied with the art of teaching an art in a religious way, must "look upon himself as a master and a foster-father—as, at the very least, a kind of Knute Rockne of the mind and soul."

Scarcely a Catholic educator will quarrel with Professor Ryan's "aims"; these have never been in dispute. But sharp debate will ensue over "means." Yet the "aims" are an issue, too, in the sense that if the Catholic educator gives them a real, and not merely a notional, assent, he cannot escape accepting most of what Professor Ryan lays down as steadfast and indispensable principles for making means minister to the aims proposed. It is on this point that Catholic college education has failed most. By and large it has filled its curriculum with the omnibus offerings provided by other schools. It has worried over the consequent dis-integrity of its several curricula, but instead of solving the problem by a rigid selection of subjects in the light of its aims, it has wishfully put its faith in the ability of syllabi and teachers to make a pattern out of chaos. And its teachers, trained in the secular graduate tradition, have never been re-trained in the Catholic tradition.

There is no denying the many difficulties that would attend the attempt to run a Catholic college according to Professor Ryan's blueprint. Major objections he proposes and answers in the eighth chapter. There is a further question that Catholic educators will ask in all seriousness: To what extent will the Catholic public support Catholic colleges so essentially different from the usual American institution?

At all odds, this book should be read, pondered and discussed by Catholic college people, teachers and students alike. It gets down to the root of Catholic education. It says what many have been saying for a long time, but it says it connectedly and, best of all, constructively. It would be a pity were it dismissed as merely the dream of an idealist; more a pity if disagreement on this or that part of the plan were to result in rejection of the plan as a whole. In the judgment of this reviewer it is so sound in its essential features—some of which can be found in existing Catholic colleges—that Catholic educators should bring to it, not hostility, but the conviction that "here is what we have been looking for; let us not rest until we have found ways and means of putting it into effect."

ALLAN P. FARRELL, S.J.

DICKENSIAN AND HIBERNIAN

THE HOUSE IN CLEWE STREET. By Mary Lavin. Little, Brown and Co. \$3

IT IS ENTIRELY possible that at the first glance that one might give to the title of this novel (which is very long, because it is engaged in covering three generations of an Irish family named Coniffe) the suspicion that it is a mystery story might arise in the mind, but that is not a fact, for the house in Clewe Street is only where the Coniffes lived.

Your patience! If I used sixty-eight words for the first sentence of this comment, it is to show that such is the kind of sentence Mary Lavin inflicts on her readers through 529 pages. After all, there is a paper shortage. However, if you once get used to the author and her characters both talking in this windy fashion, you will find rewards. I think the chief of these is her power to portray the simple Irish folk. These are reproduced almost photographically, but also with more than a shade of Dickensian caricature.

The Lavin mode is to be absolutely unhurried. The narrative is chronological, except for the long flash-back at the opening. It proceeds at leisure, but carelessly of smaller units of time, first through pinch-penny Theodore's age; then through the boyhood of Gabriel Galloway, Theodore's grandson; and finally, away from Clewe Street, in Dublin—Gabriel and Onny Soraghan, the servant girl with whom he had run away. There is no great main plot, but many plotlets throughout, all of them easily guessable through the Lavin-Dickens method of mystifying a fairly obvious situation. Interpolated even into tragic moments are Teacher Lavin's aphoristic philosophies on the ways of man. These are quite in the "Ah, me!" style, some of them very sage, others just interruptions.

Characterization is strong, especially of the redoubtable virago, Aunt Theresa, who was a nightly church-goer and a daily tyrant in the home, over everybody with no exception, and always, of course, for the good of the others! Aunt Sara, her weak-willed sister, is convincing enough. Gabriel's mother, Lily, who stole Gabriel's father from under the noses of both her sisters, is only so-so—a kind of necessary appurtenance to the story. But Gabriel himself, and Onny Soraghan, are both bundles of contradictions, and for me at least, unconvincing. Gabriel's friend (?) Sylvester, intended so or not, is a lesser Steerforth, right out of *David Copperfield*.

The story is set in Ireland and is about Catholic people, but the Catholicism is only atmospheric. Miss Lavin seems to want to show—and I hope this is not unjust—that there is too much superstition surrounding the practice of the Faith among these people. However that may be, I find it hard to take that in the supreme crisis of Gabriel, and in Onny's tragic end, the influence of their religion upon both could have been so near to nothing. Perhaps it is all meant to be an object lesson by contrast: if so, well enough so far as it goes, but the real values of the real Catholic Faith are left in shadow. At the end, all Gabriel can say is: "I begin to see that for people of lesser moral fiber they [the externals of religion] are necessary. . . ." He then makes a "noble gesture," but without contrition.

ROBERT E. HOLLAND

JUST HOW SICK IS IT?

CAN DEMOCRACY RECOVER? By Louis Marlio. Doubleday, Doran and Co. \$2

NOT MUCH can be wrong with democracy if its ills can be diagnosed and remedies prescribed in a slender volume of under two hundred pages. Louis Marlio deserves a hearing, however. His experience includes the chairmanship of the International Aluminum Cartel, of the French Eastern Railroad Company, and of the Association of Electrical Power Producers. He has served on committees of the League of Nations, and was a member of the French Council of State. He has written a half dozen volumes, and takes the Papal encyclicals seriously.

Unfortunately, he takes the slogans of the French Revolution even more seriously, to a point where they lead him down blind alleys from which his native wit teaches him to retreat.



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Since 1943, when this volume was originally published in French, few would quarrel with the author's statement of the aspirations of democracy: liberty, increased wealth better distributed, social security and international security. He dismisses totalitarianism, Manchester liberalism, Marxism and a controlled economy as means of achieving these aspirations. The corporative or guild system, as an *economic system*, he rejects (despite his regard for Pope Pius XI) on the ground that it would lead to restricted production, high prices and dictatorial economic control of business and trade-unions. The Communist system, he thinks, might evolve into something acceptable, but until it does he will have no truck with it, and believes France will not, either.

What he wants is *Social Liberalism*. This needs a strong, stable government, able to cope with pressure-groups, and must be based on a flourishing family system. The capitalist organization of industry would be the framework of this system, "for its efficiency is incomparably superior to all other known systems of production." He would lay upon industry the major burden of unemployment costs. The "social" epithet signifies the role *social guilds* would have in this system. These are occupational groups dealing with "social insurance, the housing problem, apprenticeship and, above all, unemployment." He thinks that the financial burden of footing the bill for unemployment insurance would advantageously slow down the adoption of technological substitutes for human workers.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT

THE OLD CALIFORNIA TRAIL. By Julia Cooley Altrocchi. Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho. \$4.

THE LEGEND AND LORE of the West have been joined to the facts of history and both woven into a fascinating picture-story in *The Old California Trail*. This book will come as a refreshing surprise to those who find the history of the West dry and uninteresting. The author takes the reader over the hard journey of the pioneers and gives him an idea of what it meant to plod the Overland Trail. The experiences of the early settlers, their labors and joys and sorrows, their revels and quarrels, their hopes and disappointments are graphically portrayed by the use of copious quotations from early writers and local versifiers.

As the reader moves along over this covered-wagon route he meets the famous old characters who rode into the West and sees again the flourishing trading-posts and grim forts of by-gone days. He stops off here and there for interesting chats with acquaintances and descendants of the old timers. Accompanying the stimulating descriptions and absorbing stories are photographs illustrating nearly every phase of the journey, for the author has been over the trail seven times, studying, inquiring and taking pictures.

Mrs. Altrocchi's failure to follow the ill-fated Donners more in detail in their tragic expedition over the Sierras and the brief treatment she gives the California part of the California Trail are slightly disappointing phases of her work.

The general reader will find this book interesting. The potential scholar will be stimulated by the fine insight and will be led to further study by the well rounded and authoritative bibliography attached.

RICHARD H. TRAME

A MOMENT OF TIME. By Sidney R. McLean. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50

QUITE A LITTLE TIME passes through the pages of Sidney R. McLean's first novel, from the morning of her heroine's life, when Submit Ellery is six, to the evening, when she is seventy. A lot of history was made during those years, from 1774 onwards, and the opening chapters, in a restless New England moving swiftly towards revolution,

give promise of a vivid historical novel. This promise is not fulfilled. The authentic scene is just a backdrop for the first of a long series of episodes in an intensely subjective life.

At six, a little girl who is never to read or write, composes her first verse; all her life she is to be sustained by "the secret joy of words," creating her poems in moments of great joy or sorrow, keeping them locked in her heart to be remembered in quietude. Springing from "the stuff of hymn-book and Bible," they become more important to her than prayer itself, and yet they are interwoven with a habit of prayer that is at the root of her character.

Miss McLean, who is Associate Professor of English Language and Literature at Mount Holyoke College, has her own "joy of words," out of which she has created a living character that moves serenely through the decades, a simple, hard-working woman with an untaught mind full of secret beauty. Perhaps, in a sense, this is an historical novel, with an especial value in our own troubled moment of time. Submit Ellery, in spite of her dreaming, is really the national ideal of the pioneer woman, patient, kind, strong and capable. If her dogma sometimes wobbles, her faith in the Lord stands firm and finds words to communicate peace. At the close of her life, her minister-grandson can say: "I'd never have found God without you." It would make a good epitaph.

MARJORIE HOLLIGAN

THE AESTHETIC ADVENTURE. By William Gaunt. Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$3

"AS THE ECONOMISTS of the early nineteenth century had made political economy into a science with its own laws and invented the 'economic man,' so now the cultivation of Art for Art's sake had produced the 'aesthetic man.'" Thus Mr. Gaunt, in summing up his survey of the esthetic movement. Poets, painters, novelists, dramatists, essayists, and even composers, are included. As a matter of fact, the canvas is really too crowded with figures. Of the personalities which emerge most nearly life-size, and which dominate the scene, Whistler and Wilde are the most conspicuous. Many of Whistler's witticisms (they sound a bit more studied and strained now than when they were uttered) are repeated. The famous court trials involving Whistler and Wilde are reported in great detail.

While the pageant of the *fin-de-siècle* and the mauve decade, with its poseurs and dandies, its Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, passes before the reader colorfully and amusingly enough, Mr. Gaunt's method of introducing his numerous specimens strikes one as somewhat artificial. Moreover, the deeper causes and implications of the movement are only glanced at. The volume never rises to real historical and philosophical analysis. One would like to see the relations between estheticism and the philosophies of the Romantics, the cult of emotionalism and decadent neo-Platonism, brought out. One would like to see the movement put in its setting as part of the general deracination of man from his Christian heritage. There was, in some instances, a pathetic return to this heritage: in Huysmans, Wilde, Dowson, Beardsley. The famous last letter of Beardsley is a stark acknowledgment:

I implore you to destroy all copies of *Lysistrata* and bad drawings . . .

By all that is holy all obscene drawings

AUBREY BEARDSLEY—In my death agony.

One cannot avoid concluding that Mr. Gaunt has merely described the phenomena of an artistic heresy that is still with us in the twentieth century. VICTOR M. HAMM

JULIUS A. THOMAS is Director of the Department of Industrial Relations of the National Urban League.

DUFF COLEMAN, now a Lieutenant in the U. S. Navy, was for eight years active in Catholic Youth Organization work in and around Chicago.

REV. NELSON W. LOGAL is a priest of the Diocese of Buffalo.

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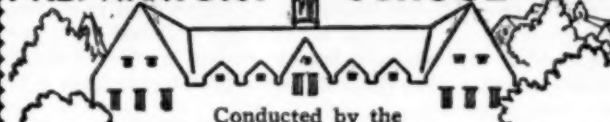
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AN AMERICA PRESS PUBLICATION

THEATRE

HENRI CHRISTOPHE, produced by the American Negro Theatre in the basement of the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library, is a dramatic biography of the Haitian revolutionist who was born a slave and died a king. Dan Hammerman is the author, and Frederick O'Neal plays the leading role. Of the two, Mr. O'Neal contributes a great deal more to the success of a production which at best is only fair to middling.

Christophe was one of the most remarkable men who ever lived. Unlike some others who rose from swineherd—or similar lowly station—to royalty, he was not just an audacious and lucky adventurer. Nor was he driven onward and upward by a lust for power, a desire to rule over his fellow-men. He believed himself an embodiment of the welfare of his people, and when one studies his career it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he was right. He had his full share of human dross—one expression of which was a capacity for implacable hate, combined with the memory of an elephant.

Mr. Hammerman has captured neither the greatness nor the humanity of the man. For some reason, perhaps because he does not select the right episodes to carry his story, he fails to achieve a convincing projection of Christophe's drive and glamor and magnificent manhood. Instead, he presents a succession of scenes which resemble photographs of the subject at different stages of his career. But there is no continuity in the sequence of episodes, no illusion of the rebellious slave becoming an intrepid soldier and maturing into a wise administrator. There is no illusion of struggle, of rising from defeat to victory, and only a faint implication of danger and escape.

Mr. O'Neal's interpretation of the role is uneven but generally impressive. In the early scenes he puts a bit too much emphasis on the pent-up bitterness of the sullen slave but, as the action proceeds, he becomes less stagey and more convincing. While he does not achieve the polished perfection he reached as the scheming brother-in-law in *Anna Lucasta*, he does translate Mr. Hammerman's Christophe from a lay figure into a man.

Henri Christophe probably marks O'Neal's emergence as a first-rate actor. His *Anna Lucasta* performance, for all its skill and beauty, did not prove his ability. He could have been a flash, a one-role or one-type performer utterly unable to interpret another kind of character. His Christophe demonstrates that he is not a type but an actor.

The production was directed by Joe Hill, and Charles Seabee designed the sets. Performances will be continued from Tuesday through Saturday, evenings only, until June 30.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

OUT OF THIS WORLD. Crooners take a spoofing in this farce where Eddie Bracken furnishes the comedy as he apes Frank Sinatra and sings with Bing Crosby's voice. If Mr. Bracken had more substantial material to be funny with there is little doubt that the result would be side-splitting. Even as it is, the film is amusing and definitely escapist. The story is set in a small town where a Western Union messenger boy, from whose mouth Crosby's voice emerges, is discovered by Diana Lynn, leader of an all-girl orchestra. As the lady is better at music than at figures, she oversells his contract and provides a springboard for all kinds of complications, financial as well as romantic. Veronica Lake is cast as one of the stockholders, a not-too-agreeable one, who hires a band of bobby-soxers to protect her investment. However, the plot is not too important, for the musical interludes capture the spotlight, particularly that one where five maestros, Carmen Cavallaro, Ted Fiorito, Henry King, Ray Noble and Joe Reichman play at five white pianos, as they dazzle with their skill. Miss Lynn entertains with some selections herself. Though Bing Crosby is never seen, only heard, in this picture, his four young sons appear briefly and indulge in some fun over their father's voice. Cass Daley's clowning is the one false note, a vulgar one, in the laughable nonsense. Mature audiences will find this feature moderately amusing and diverting. (Paramount)

BACK TO BATAAN. Here is a grim portrait of the guerilla warfare that was waged in the Philippines from the fall of Bataan and Corregidor right down to the invasion of Leyte with the liberation of Filipinos and prisoners. This is tense, thrilling melodrama, and an added interest is to be found in its timeliness. A foreword informs us that the events recorded are based on fact, and that the production was made with the cooperation of the U. S. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard and the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Starting with the raid on Cabanatuan Prison Camp, flashbacks tell how Colonel Madden (John Wayne) organized and led guerilla bands after the fall of the Islands, how they menaced the Japs at every turn, until the moment for the invasion arrived when they stepped in to aid. A bit of romance is woven around the affairs of the native leader and the actress, whose propaganda broadcasts for the Japanese was really a means of resisting them. Anthony Quinn and Fely Franquielli handle these parts. All the cast give really fine performances. Those adults who still choose war pictures as entertainment will find this drama of warfare in the Pacific worth their attention. (R.K.O. Radio)

MARY SHERIDAN

PARADE

AS EVERY MODERN schoolboy knows, the omission of certain foods from one's diet results in disease. . . . This knowledge, though now common, is relatively new, being largely the product of twentieth-century studies which have made valuable discoveries and achieved a widespread improvement in general health. . . . There exists another type of diet, however, about which the average modern schoolboy knows little or nothing—the moral diet. . . . That the omission of certain fundamental truths from the moral diet results in moral diseases much more disastrous for society than physical maladies is a fact concerning which he is rather ignorant. . . . Few schoolboys—indeed few grownups, for that matter—are aware of a strange phenomenon which has featured the twentieth century—the phenomenon of a constantly improving physical diet accompanied by a constantly deteriorating moral diet; an ascending curve in physical health along with a descending curve in moral health. . . . Knowledge of the facts involved in the moral diet is of transcendent importance. . . . Readers may like to mark their score on the following statements, some of which are true, some false.

1. Marriage is a man-made institution. . . . False. It is a God-made institution. . . . God established the nature of marriage. He laid down the terms of the contract. Human

beings are free to enter the state of matrimony or not to enter it, but are not free to alter the terms of the contract. Legislatures cannot change the nature of marriage. Every attempt in that direction has resulted sooner or later in tragedy for human society.

2. Truth is absolute. . . . True. . . . The doctrine widely spread by modern secular education that what is true today may be false tomorrow is a dangerous error. To quote Dr. Pitirim Sorokin of Harvard University, such teaching leads to the "debasement of the truth itself—the very difference between the true and the false disappears." . . .

3. Morality is relative. It varies from time to time, from place to place. . . . False. . . . Morality is absolute. . . . Changing customs, a majority vote, cannot make a good act out of a bad one. . . . Murder of so-called incurables, for example, is always murder, no matter what legislatures may say. . . . The norm of morality is—what conforms to man's nature, considered completely. . . . This completely considered nature never changes. . . . Neither does the norm.

4. Man's dependence on God is complete. . . . True. . . . Man cannot get along without God. . . . Readers who are curious to see what happens when man tries to get along without God have but to take a good look at the plight of the human race in this year of 1945. JOHN A. TOOMEY

CORRESPONDENCE

"AMERICA" IN CAMP

EDITOR: AMERICA has been a tremendous influence and guide for me and my family. My mother sends it to me after she and Dad have read it at home. I only wish that I had more time to read all the columns in it; all of them are appealing and expertly written.

The one article I never miss is *The Word*, by John P. Delaney. To me it is remarkable how he ties up the Divine Scriptures with our everyday Catholic way of living.

It made me very happy to discover AMERICA on a prominent bookshelf when I was in a Dallas USO a few weeks ago. It happened to be the most recent number, so I knew it held a regular spot on that rack.

Some of my non-Catholic buddies have asked to read the AMERICAS which Mom sends; they have shown a keen interest in the various topics of the Review. As a specific instance, in the May 12 issue there appeared a poem, *Private Hopkins*, by Joseph Dever. There is a boy in my platoon by that name, and he read the poem. Soon most of the platoon had read and enjoyed this little gem.

Camp Maxey, Tex. PVT. JOSEPH P. GALLAGHER, JR.

THE RUSSIAN DILEMMA

EDITOR: "Are we faced with the dilemma, either to appease Russia—moving, or being driven from concession to concession—or else resort to war?" (*Russia Challenges the Allied Conscience*, AMERICA, June 9).

1. Are not dilemmas like this, inducing "moral paralysis," a part of Communistic tactics to split open opposition and so grab control? For years now Americans have faced a similar dilemma: when we attempt to check the Communists, they shout out their rights to American freedom of speech and organization; when we don't check them, they work to sabotage those very freedoms. By presenting two evils, they drive others from concession to concession.

2. Is there not something literally *diabolical* in such ruthless cleverness? For, however you explain it, such dilemmas are a favorite weapon of Satan. In the New Testament, time after time the attack upon Christ is wrapped in such a dilemma.

3. What did Our Lord do when faced with such dilemmas? He refused to be put on the defensive, and He certainly was not driven from concession to concession. Some of His answers come immediately to mind, as "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." But not so well known is the manner in which He oftentimes turned dilemmas against those who sought to trick Him.

When the Sanhedrin commanded: "If thou art the Christ, tell us," He answered them: "If I tell you, you will not believe me; and if I question you, you will not answer me, or let me go."

When the attendant struck him, saying, "Is that the way thou dost answer the high priest?" Jesus answered: "If I have spoken ill, bear witness to the evil; but if well, why dost thou strike me?"

When Pilate questioned: "Art thou the king of the Jews?" He answered: "Dost thou say this of thyself, or have others told thee of me?"

When the Apostles began to preach after Pentecost, the worried magistrates threatened them like this: either you stop preaching Christ or you will be scourged. Peter and John did not debate which to choose, but tossed a dilemma right back at them: "Whether it is right in the sight of God to listen to you rather than to God, decide for yourselves."

Analysis of these example shows that when the enemies of God hurled dilemmas based on their *rights* as rulers, Divine Wisdom answered with a dilemma based on their *duties* as rulers.

The old Christian formula is applicable today on a world scale. Russia is quick to push her international rights—or

else. The other nations, while always respecting justice, must maintain their united *moral* power, and be equally quick to put Russia on the defensive with a dilemma about her duties in world organization. The United States, even alone, has still enough *moral* bargaining power to start saying firmly to Russia: "Either you fulfil this promise you made, and that promise—or else."

In a word, we should concede on their rights, but *not* on their duties. If we do keep conceding to Communism, we will be like a man yielding to temptation. Each time we concede, we are weaker.

Auriesville, N. Y.

FRANCIS X. CLARK, S.J.

[Where the dilemma in question concerns solely an ideology, such as Communism, evidently the point is well taken on the impossibility of making any concessions. But in forming political decisions a certain degree of concession is inevitable. The dilemma proposed to us by Russia, as a nation, lies also in the political, not merely ideological order.—EDITOR.]

PARTICIPATING IN THE MASS

EDITOR: It is a pleasant sign when the laity keep discussing "participation" in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Our people should know that they participate actively in the Liturgy by saying the prayers with the celebrant—which are always said in their name. The priest, except rarely, always speaks in the plural, using "we" and never "I". The server represents the people and answers the prayers of the priest in their name. No priest is allowed to celebrate Mass without a server, if it is possible to procure one, and this regulation emphasizes the truth that the people must be represented and participate in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass at least through the server.

At High Mass, the congregation should sing the Ordinary parts and the Responses. This is not the preserve of the choir, but the right of the people, of which they have been robbed. The choir have their own part to do—that is to sing the Proper. Sung Mass, being the normal way of celebrating the Christian Sacrifice, gives the faithful the real and active means of participating. This means: to sing, pray and communicate.

Ebensburg, Pa.

(REV.) JOSEPH KRISHOCK

SUPERMAN

EDITOR: The simplicity and sincerity of Father O'Callahan's review of his experiences on the *Franklin* offer one of the most profound illustrations of Catholic courage I have ever read. He makes unquestionably clear the distinction between this kind of courage and bravado or recklessness.

As a contrast, may I suggest that while Father O'Callahan raises a higher mountain in attempting to level one, R. Southard in the same issue (June 9, 1945), in his article on Superman attempts to make a mountain out of a molehill and winds up with nothing more than an ordinary garden variety of ant-hole.

South Bend, Ind.

NORBERT ENGELS

EDITOR: I have just read in the June 9 issue of AMERICA an article entitled *Superman Grabs Chance to Teach Grammar* wherein it is stated in paragraph 1 that Superman is being used in the Lynn schools. May I call your attention to the fact that several years ago there was an experiment conducted in one of the schools for a few weeks. The experiment did not have the results which were expected, and Superman has not been used in the Lynn schools as a workbook in History, Geography, Social Science or other subjects.

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THE WORD

"ENTHRONE CHRIST as Lord in your hearts," is Monsignor Knox's translation of the last of Saint Peter's sentences in the Epistle of the Fifth Sunday after Pentecost. If we can sincerely do that, then the seemingly hard lessons of love of neighbor, forgiveness of injuries, returning good for evil insisted on in today's Epistle and Gospel fall rather easily into our scheme of living. To enthrone Christ as Lord in our hearts is to give our hearts up to Christ, to give our lives up to Christ so that we live our lives as the King of our hearts wants them lived. To enthrone Christ in our hearts is to be guided in all our thinking, all our desiring, all our doings and dealings by the thoughts and desires and example of Christ. It means to desire what Christ desires and to love what Christ loves for ourselves and for our fellow men.

What Christ desires and loves above all else, for us and for those dear to us and for those who may not be so dear to us and for all men, is saintliness and eternal salvation. He lived and died for that, and He looks to us to help Him achieve what He died for. Way down deep in the core of every human being is a bit of godliness. Christ loves that godliness in every human being. He wants to dig down to it through the ugliness and rottenness of sin, through the hard crust of selfishness and greed and cynicism, through the soft corruption of lust, through the flinty growth of pride, of self-sufficiency and injustice. To the very end He tries to reach down to that core of good and nurture it to saintliness and holy living by His own warm love, His gentleness and humility, by the fire of His heroism.

What may be more practical for us, He sees and loves this core of developing godliness under irritating mannerisms, the petty faults, the exaggerated goodness that often make us impatient and unkindly towards sincerely good people. As much as He wants the salvation of those lost in sin, He wants the saintliness of the good and He wants us to help Him and them to achieve that saintliness.

Our first thought about any human being is that here is a soul to be saved for Christ, maybe with our help. We want all the people we meet to like us not for ourselves but for Christ whom we represent. We want them to admire not us but the deep serenity, the kindly assurance, the patient goodness of Christ, who has identified Himself with us. No matter what the provocation, we hesitate to alienate anyone, to "tell off" anyone, to make an enemy or an outcast of anyone, lest we thereby lose the opportunity of helping Christ to save even one soul. In a way we are salesmen for Christ's product of saintliness. We are Christ's politicians trying to win as many votes as we can for the platform of Christ. Like politicians and salesmen, we must learn to hold back the sharp answer, to put up with rebuffs and insults and doors slammed in our faces, to make friends of all the world that we may make all the world friends of Christ. We hesitate to offend even those most deserving of offense, lest the time come when the offended one hesitate to come to us for a bit of help that would lead him to Christ.

That is why, according to Saint Peter, "We must be tender-hearted, modest and humble, not repaying injury with injury, or hard words with hard words, but calling down a blessing instead" (I Peter 3: 8-15). That is why Saint Peter bids us "keep thy tongue clear of harm, and thy lips free from every treacherous word."

That, too, is why Christ Himself gives us the command: "If thou art bringing thy gift before the altar and rememberest there that thy brother has some ground of complaint against thee, leave thy gift lying there before the altar: be reconciled with thy brother first, and then come back to offer thy gift" (Matt. 5: 20-24).

Christ is enthroned as the Lord of our hearts. His love becomes our love, and that is love of all mankind. His interest is our interest, and that is the salvation of all men. His forgiveness must be our forgiveness, and that means pardoning all men. His sacrifice becomes our sacrifice, and it can be truly ours only when it is the sacrifice of all mankind offered for the salvation and for the unity of all men.

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